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I—Mihr Yast

(From the Brahminical Stand-point)

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BY

RÂJÂRÂM RÂMKRISHNA BHÂGAWAT

St. Xavier's College, Esplanade, Bombay.

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TO

SIR M. M. BHOWNUGGREE, K.C.S.I.,

M. P. FOR BETHNAL GREEN

A ZOROASTRIAN

BY

THE AUTHOR

A Non-Zoroastrian

(A Marâṭhâ Brahmin).

Yânîm mano yânîm vacho yânîm skyaothnem—

"pure thought, pure speech, pure deed."

Niyatam kuru karma tvam (8, III, Bhagavad-gîtâ)—

"do thou (the) work assigned."

PREFACE.

Will the Zoroastrian reader of this Paper kindly permit its writer, a non-Zoroastrian, to address him as his 'brother, dear brother'? A cis-Indus Âryan, a Deva-worshipping non-Zoroastrian, can not but entertain in *these* days a deep brotherly feeling for a trans-Indus Âryan, even an Ahura-worshiping Zoroastrian. The 19th century did much in dissipating the over-hanging mist, and thereby in bridging over the wide gulf existing between the worshippers of *Mithrâ* and those of *Mitra*; and it is earnestly hoped, that there will be found among the former in this 20th century, at least, some who will not hold back their hands when one among the latter holds forth his, owing to the depth of feeling which he naturally feels for them. My dear Zoroastrian readers, we are brethern; and why should we not meet as brethern on the ground which for a considerable distance is common? Away, please, with all bias and prejudice; let the Gâthâs and the Avesta be thoroughly searched, every nook and corner, how-so-ever dark, being made more or less accessible to the rays of the light which has fallen in copious and irresistible torrents on the East, thanks to the indefatigable labours of savants in the West. Let all fiction, how-so-ever popular or agreeable, be weeded out, let all accretions (may I be permitted to call them excrescences) be disposed of as they ought to be, and let all facts, how-so-ever unpopular or disagreeable, be preserved by instilling them into the minds of the rising generations; for fiction is after all fiction, and facts are after all facts. Thus alone can life be inspired into Zoroastrianism, which, in the eyes at least of an outsider, is just now lying without any sign of life in it. No forms, no ceremonies, no superstitions, how-so-ever numerous or popular they may be, no eloquence of a Demosthenes or a Cicero on the part of some among the followers can compensate for the loss of the spirituality, which forms the very soul of a religion; without the warming flame of this spirituality, every religion, along with the society professing it, is nothing but an inert mass of cold clay.

I can not allow this occasion to pass without acknowledging the great help which I ungrudgingly received from my most obliging friend Mr. M. P. Madan, of the Bombay Samâchâr, and from my ever-self-sacrificing friend and former pupil, Mr. D. K. Gupte, B.A., now Head Master of the Nandod High School, Râja-piplâ State.

RAJARAM RAMKRISHNA BHAGAWAT,
St. Xavier's College, Esplanade, Bombay.

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KHORDEH-AVESTA SEARCHED.

(From the Vedic stand-point.)

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I.—MIHR-YAS'T.

1 Preliminary Remarks.

A compilation.

The present Mihr-yas't is in all likelihood a compilation. It seems to have been compiled in an age when a special spiritual value was set on the *ahuna -vairya* (K. 13), one of the two sacred verses the knowledge of which is as indispensable to a Zoroastrian as is that of the *Gâyatrî* to a follower of the Vedas. The whole, as we have it now before us, will be found to be made up of parts or pieces that are often not only unconnected, but at times even contradictory or conflicting. *Ahura-Mazda* (the Great Lord) is described as having first created himself and then created *Mithra* (K. 1) as His equal in point of worship and honour; He even had a house or temple built for *Mithra* on the top (K. 12) of a high mountain called *Hara*. That a divinity in whom the Great Lord is described as having taken so much interest, should have to complain bitterly to the Great Lord (K. 13) of the down-right neglect which he suffered at the hands of men owing to the preference given by them to other divinities *far below him* in dignity, is not quite in keeping with the previous description of *Mithra* or with the greatness of the Great Lord. *Mithra* who is thus in one part placed on a footing almost of equality with the Great Lord, is in another part made to complain to the Great Lord of the universal neglect fallen to his lot;

*** *This* Paper would have been printed long ago; but *a* Protestant *Presbyterian* missionary was not kind enough to return the fair copy submitted to him. Though one registered and two or three unregistered reminders, with stamps enclosed, were sent to him by post, he did not even condescend to acknowledge any of the letters. So, another fair copy had to be made; but even after that, the publication of the Paper had to be deferred, as the Wilson Philological Lectures were in the Press. Now that those Lectures are out, it is nigh time to turn to *this* Paper. "Better late than never."

further on, the Great Lord himself is described (K. 31) as making obeisance through his magnificent palace, the *garo-nmâna*, to *Mithra*, when passing in state. In fact, in K. 31 *Mithra* is described as the Highest Divinity to whom even the Great Lord pays or has to pay respect. That part at least of K. 29, in which the High Priest is called *Zarathus'trotema* must evidently have been written at a time when *Zarathus'tra* had become the designation of a priest in general; the name having thus become a common noun, when it had to be applied to the High or Premier Priest, it was found necessary to add the superlative termination to it. The very fact of the word *Zarathus'tra* having come to be applied to, if it did not originally denote, a priest in general would necessitate the assumption of considerable distance between the time of Zoroaster, the Great Prophet, and the gradual degradation of his name. A parallel may be found in the titles Cæsar and Augustus, assumed or created by the emperors of Constantinople.

The *Mihr-yas't*, as we find it to-day, consists of 35 *kards*, each *kard* being again subdivided into parts. The last three parts of each *kard* are identical. Each *kard* has the same opening formula, except the first, which is evidently one of the later, or rather latest additions. The opening formula seems to be the first foundation stone, on which were piled up by some compiler the various layers in the form of *kards* or their parts, which had been formed by Time the Great Architect, and which had been made over to the several clans or tribes in whose exclusive possession they continued to be until they came to be discovered; it was thus the compiler, who brought into existence the present *Mihr-yas't*, and it is he who deserves to be thanked for it.

II.—THE WORD MIHR-YAS'T.

With this short pre-face, let us first take up the words *Mihr* and *Yas't*.

The word *mihra-mihara*, or rather *mihira* occurs also in classical Sanskrit, and means 'the sun'. *Mihr* is evidently formed from *mithra*, which in the process of formation has lost the dental

sound, but retains the aspiration. By dropping the aspiration, *mithra* will be converted into *mitra*. *Mithra* is thus the Avestic, *mitra* the Vedic, *mihr* the Classical form; both the Vedic and the Classical *appear* to be formed from the Avestic, the Vedic dropping the aspiration, while the Classical drops the dental sound. It should however be remembered that certain tribes or peoples have a natural tendency to aspiration, while there are others, which are generally fond of eliminating it. In the Marâṭhâ country, those above the Ghâṭs are generally fond of aspiration, while those below, for the most part, do away with it. Let this tendency in regard to aspiration and its elimination be remembered; it will be cut ground for assigning priority to *mithra* and posteriority to *mitra* off the feet, and the inquirer will have to come to the conclusion that the two words *mithra* and *mitra* were most likely co-eval or co-existent; in fact, what the Vedic tribes with their tendency to the elimination of aspiration pronounced as *mitra*, the Avestic with their tendency to aspiration pronounced as *mithra*.

Now as to the word *yas't*. The word *yasna* also will have to be taken into account, as it is intimately connected with *yas't*.

The word *yas't*, or rather *yas'ta* occurs in *kards* 8 and 13, along with *yasna*. The root *yaj*, which is both Avestic and Vedic, means 'to offer, to give'; the Avestic *yas't*, as corresponding to the Sanskrit *iṣṭa*, must thus originally have been a past passive participle, and meant what is 'sacrificed, offered', that is a 'food-offering'. The food-offering required some words at the time of offering it to a divinity; these presentation-words were it seems called *yasna* in Avestic, and *yajna* in Vedic literature. In the First Book of the Ṛik-Samhitâ, the seer (h. 10, v. 4) asks Indra to 'approach the *brahman* offering, and to bless the *yajna* offering'; further on, he (h 21, v. 2) asks men to 'praise Indra and Agni in the *yajnas*' and to 'sing them in the *gâyatras*'. In such places, as the word *yajna* is used with another class of offerings, a very strong suspicion almost amounting to a moral certainty is raised, that in those times at least, it did not denote a 'sacrifice' in general, but a 'particular' class of offerings, and that as the offerings mentioned with it are either 'food-offerings' or 'song-offerings', this 'particu-

lar' class in all likelihood was made of 'word-offerings'. "The premier Atharvan widened the paths by the *yajnas* (5, 83, 1)." Though *yajna* thus meant in pre-*Samhitâ* times a 'word-offering', it came gradually to be applied to a 'sacrifice', in which the *yajnas* had to be recited; the place of the earlier *yajna* seems to have been occupied in later times first by the non-metrical *yajush*, and subsequently by the metrical *yâjyâ*. The Avestic has preserved the earlier *yasna* with its meaning; the Vedic has preserved the corresponding *yajna*, though subsequently the original meaning was lost, two other words, viz the *yajush* and the *yâjyâ* having been brought into use by the cis-Indus ritualists. The divinity 'worshipped' was called *yazata-yajata*, the 'worshipper' being *yasni* in Avestic, *yâjin* in Vedic; the 'worship' must have received the name of *yâja*. *Yajata* is used in Vedic for 'worshipped' or 'worshipful' (7, 34, 1); *yazata* in Avestic gradually deteriorated and came to mean a 'star', though as *îzad*, in its latest Persian phase, it denotes 'God'.

The earlier *yasna* thus meant the 'word-offering' or 'presentation words,' while *yas'ta-yas't* was applied to the 'food-offering'. The *Mithra-yasna* thus originally meant 'the word-offering for Mithra', while *Mithra-yas'ta* or *yas't* was 'the food-offering for Mithra'.

III.—SOME AVESTIC OFFERINGS WITH THEIR REQUISITES & ACCOMPANIMENTS.

In both the 8th and the 13th *kard*, the offerings called *zaothrâ* are mentioned between *yasna* and *yas'ta*. In *kard* 23, there come *bares'man* and *vaghji* with *zaothrâ*; not far from these will be found *gâthra* and *vacha*, two classes of offerings mentioned along with *yasna*, and also *zaotar*, the offering priest; further on will be found *nema*; further still, *aism*, *bares'man*, *hâvana*, *haoma* (lifted up) and *ahuna-vairya* (recited), worshipping with which seems to have been technically called *fra-yaz* or *frâ-yaz*. In the 30th *kard*, a special preparation of *zaothrâ* is taught and recommended; this *kard* raises a suspicion that the Avestic *yasna* had also a sister in *vahma*. In the 5th *kard* occurs the word *mânthra*.

The Avestic *zaotar* is the older, while the Vedic *hotṛi* the later form of the word. The Avestic *zu* meant 'to invoke'; in the Vedic, there are two roots, the earlier *hvav-hvay-hvo-hve-hva* (p. 80, Wilson Philolog Lects for 1902), meaning 'to invoke', the later *hu-juhu* meaning 'to sacrifice'. All the Sanskrit grammarians derive *hotṛi* from *hve-hvay* 'to invoke', no one derives it from *hu-juhu* 'to sacrifice'. The Vedic *hotṛi* was thus the 'invoking', not the 'sacrificing' priest; even in later times, when the Vedic ritual was abnormally elaborated and the full complement of 16 priests had come to be recognised, the *hotṛi* priest seems to have scrupulously preserved his original character and performed always similar, if not the same, duties which had been assigned to him in a sacrifice in more ancient times, being always looked upon as the 'invoking' priest by the 'sacrificing' and the 'chanting' priests, and as their 'chief' by the 'minor invoking' priests, whose number had come to be raised to six.

The duties of the *zaotar* mentioned in this *yas't* were in all likelihood identical with those of the *hotṛi* of the older times, that is of the *Samhitâ* times when the hymns were being composed, not of the later Vedic times when the sacrifice of 16 priests was in course of elaboration or had already been elaborated. But there appear unfortunately no materials in the comparatively small compass of this *yas't* for tracing the word *zaotar*, and for learning the exact or even the approximate nature of his duties.

The Avestic *zaothrâ* is undoubtedly the *hotrâ* of Vedic literature, as the Avestic *yasna* is the Vedic *yajna*. Like the word *yajna*, the word *hotrâ* also seems to have passed through more than one stage in the Vedic language. In the older stage the word was most probably applied to the food-offering, and there are passages (8, 18, I) in which there is a suspicion of the word having denoted such an offering, though in the later stage (7, 36, I), it denoted the 'invoking words' used by the *hotṛi* priest, the word *havya* or *havis* being reserved for the food-offering. According to Pâṇini the word *hotrâ* denotes (135, 1, V) a 'priest' in general; this was possibly its latest or third stage.

The *gâthra* of the 23rd *kard* will remind the Vedic student of the *gâyatra*, which seems to have been the name given to a hymn (11, 12, I) in the *gâyatrî* metre, and also of the *gâyatrin* priests (1, 10, I), whose duty was to sing the hymns in that metre. The Avestic *gâthra*, if not the same with the Vedic *gâyatra*, must at least have been similar to it, since both the words are apparently derived from the same root.

The word *vaghji* was possibly connected with *vâghat*, which again must have been connected in origin with *vach* 'to recite, to speak', not with *vah* 'to carry'. The Avestic *vachaṇh* is certainly connected with *vach* 'to recite', from which root is derived the Vedic *uktha-uchatha*. The word *uktha* or *uchatha* is one of the oldest words, and the Wind-God is described (2, 2, I) as being praised by the *jaritṛi* priests in the *ukthas*, while the Fire-God (10, 73, I) is asked to accept the *uchathas* offered by the *vedhas* priests. In post-Vedic times the word *uktha* came to be applied to a very limited number of hymns, the word *s'astra* having come to be substituted for the older *uktha* or *uchatha*.

The four sacrificial requisites or rather accompaniments viz *aism*, *bares'man*, *gao* and *hâvana* are equally interesting, while the root *yaz* with *fra* or *frâ* surpasses them all in interest. The Avestic *aism* is the Sanskrit *idhma*; the Avestic *bares'man* strikingly corresponds to the Sanskrit *barhis*, the root *pra-stṛi*, with which it occurs here, being *generally* found as *stṛi* without the prefix *pra* (5, 13, I) in the Vedic language. The *bares'man* of this *yas't* was most likely the same as the *barhis* of the Vedic Samhitâ, though whether it was the same as the *kus'a* or *darbha* grass of later ritualists is an open question. The Avestic *gao* is the same as the Vedic *go-gav*. In the Avestic, as in the Vedic literature, this *go-gav* could not have meant 'milk'; since a liquid offering in the form of *haoma* poured into *hâvana* immediately follows, this must certainly have been a solid or substantial offering. Besides, the *mazda-yasnas* are described in the 30th *kard* as offering either personally or vicariously the *pasu* 'cattle'. So, there seems to be a greater probability of *gao* or *gav* in such places being intended for bovine flesh, and not for any of the bovine products, such as milk. The *bares'man* was

thus 'bound', or rather *spread* in those times for both the solid offering of *gao-gav* and the liquid offering of *haoma*.

The Sanskrit equivalent for the Avestic *hâvana* would be either *sâvana* or *savana*; but in the language of the Brahminical ritual, there is no *sâvana-savana* corresponding to the Avestic *hâvana*, by which a vessel is generally understood. The Avestic *haoma* is no doubt the Sanskrit *soma*. In Sanskrit, the word *soma* was possibly applied in the remote past to a fermented liquor of the class and strength of beer, as it is evidently derived from *su* 'to ferment', from which root is also derived *surâ* the Vedic 'beer'. After the discovery of the plant, whose juice possessed the intoxicating quality in an equal degree with the fermented liquor, the word *soma* came to be applied to the plant. The story of S'unas'-s'epa in the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa with its *anjas-sava* 'instantaneous fermentation' in the form of the *soma* plant, points to the earlier *soma* being a fermented liquor, whose preparation and fortification required considerable time. The Avestic ritual knows *soma* only as a plant, not as a fermented liquor.

The Avestic has *yaz* with *fra*, which apparently meant the 'bringing in' or 'preparation of (all the requisites or accompaniments)'. But the Avestic ritual seems not to have known the *pra-yâjas* 'opening oblations' or the *anu-yâjas* 'closing oblations' of the Brahminical ritual. The *pra-yâjas* and *anu-yâjas* have to be thus pronounced as a later accretion. The rite which followed the *pra-yâjas* and preceded the *anu-yâjas* must have received the name of *yâja*, while the performer that of *yâjin*; *yâjin* has been preserved in the Avestic *yasni*, though *yâja* is among the lost, the Sanskrit word *yâga*, which is common, being formed by substituting the gutteral *g* for the palatal *j*.

It has been proved (Wilson Philolog Lectures p. 38) elsewhere, that the Sanskrit *a* often represents the earlier *ay*; the Vedic *namas* was therefore the earlier *naymas*, which is better preserved in the Avestic *nema*, than in the Vedic *namas*, though *nemas* also as a synonym of *namas* may be found in the *nighaṇṭu* 'Vedic glossary.' *Vahma* was possibly the Sanskrit *Brahma-*

Brahman, though there are difficulties in the way; *mânthra* is no doubt the Vedic *mantra*, which originally meant 'a call', hence, 'a calling verse, a prayer'. In later times, a mysticism came to be blended with a *mantra*.

IV.—THE AVESTIC 'MITHRA' AND THE VEDIC 'MITRA'.

The 4th Kard ought to dispel doubt, if there be any, in regard to the Avestic Mithra being originally the sun. This is in all likelihood one of the older, if not the oldest Kards, the last part with its *zaothrâ* being necessarily a later addition. In the 23rd Kard, the sun is mentioned as *vhar*, and made an attendant of Mithra. In this K, Mithra is certainly not what he is described in K. 4. Not only are *hâvana* and *haoma* connected with Mithra in the 4th part of this K, but the *Ames'â-spentas* and the Great Lord are described as lifting up Mithra, while in the 3rd part he is appointed *zaotar* by the Great Lord, his duty being 'to call on' or 'to sacrifice to' the appointing divinity on behalf of the *Ames'â-spentas*. In the opening *K*. Mithra is a creature, while the Great Lord is his Creator. In K. 31, Mithra cannot be put among the creatures of the Great Lord, who is described as paying homage to him; in this *K* the Great Lord is made the worshipper, while Mithra is the worshipped. The Mithra of the 4th K. must be the sun, the Mithra ministered to by the sun (K. 23) cannot be the sun, the Mithra brought into existence by the Great Lord may have been the sun. The Avestic Mithra thus must have been, could not have been, and might have been the sun. The Zoroastrians of to-day, however understand by Mithra the 'morning twilight', as it 'joins' or 'comes (between night and day)'.

The Avestic Mithra has a gold chariot (K. 31) drawn by four horses, and also spies seated around (K. 10) him. Since even the Great Lord (K 31) through his magnificent *garo-nmâna* does homage to him, and has for him built (k 32) on the *Hara* mountain a temple in which the *ames'â-spentas* with the sun

had to work, Mithra ought to be taken to be one of the old divinities, if not the oldest.

The Vedic Mitra also is one of the oldest divinities, like Bhaga, Aryaman, Varuṇa, and others. Though Varuṇa can claim among 1028 hymns about a dozen, Mitra and Bhaga can each claim no more than one, while Aryaman has not even one separate hymn to claim. The one short hymn (59th) of nine verses which Mitra can lay claim to, and in which he can be no other than the sun, is in the Third Book, the seer being Vis'vâmitra. The words which will most remind a Zoroastrian of the Mihra Yas't are *kṛishṭi* (v 1), *namas* (vs 4 & 5), and *barhis*. *Karsho* (k. 15), *karshvâna* (k 23) andthe like are radically the same as *kṛishṭi*, all being derived from *kṛish* ' to till '; the word corresponding to *kṛish-vara* in classical Sanskrit is *kṛishṭvala* ' husbandman '. But the Vedic *kṛishṭis* are generally five (10, 2, II), and at times the word is simply used in the plural (8, 7, I), while the Avestic *karshvaras* are seven (k 23). The *kṛishṭis* are also found divided into two classes of the *Manus* and the non-*Manus*, Agni (fire) viz being called the *râjan* of the *kṛishṭis* calling themselves *Manus* (*râjâ kṛishṭînâmasi mânushiṇâm* 5, 59, I). This line in the hymn will remind the Avestic student of the expression *karsho-râjhanghem* (k. 15) applied to Mithra.

The first *five* verses of the Mitra hymn are in a different metre, the last *four* in the common *gâyatrî*; the author of the former was perhaps not the same as that of the latter. In the first five verses there appears nothing to offend the ear of a pious Zoroastrian, who would surely and uncompromisingly refuse to identify the Mitra as described in the last four with the Avestic Mithra. Not only is the Vedic Mitra in the 6th verse called a *Deva*, but in the 8th he is made the protector of all the Devas; while in the 9th he is either himself a *Deva* or a benefactor of the *Devas*. In the Avestic *Yas't*, only in the 23rd kard the word *aisma* raises a suspicion that the offering was to be thrown into fire; while in the Vedic *sûkta*, in the 1st and also in the 5th verse, no student is likely to dispute that the greasy offering for Mitra was to be made over

to fire. The Mitra hymn evidently belongs to an age, when the fire-God having come to be recognised as the regular medium, it became customary for mortals to make him the channel through which all the offerings intended for the immortals had to pass. Like other Vedic divinities, Mitra also had his *vrata-ṛita* 'form' or 'mode of worship', according to which the Mitra-worshipper had to prepare and offer the oblations intended for him.

Though Mitra can lay *no sole* claim to any other hymn of the same or another seer, there are more than two dozen hymns of more than a dozen seers, which he is entitled to claim, though *jointly* with *Varuṇa*, or with Varuṇa and Aryaman. Though in the one Mitra-hymn Mitra has not been made second to any one and appears to be the sun, in the 5th Book in a *Mitrâ-Varuṇa* hymn (p. 63) Mitra and Varuṇa are jointly described as the two gods who are the 'two good rulers' (*samrâj*), jointly ruling over firmament and earth, and sending down timely showers, but *second* to the Lord (v 3). They both jointly place the sun-god and his chariot (v 7) in the sky. In this hymn Mitra and Varuṇa are neither called *Deva* nor *Asura*, but only *samrâj* 'good rulers', while the word *Asura* in the 3rd verse is specially reserved for the Supreme Spirit. But in the 8th Book, in the 25th hymn, Mitra and Varuṇa will be found in the very first verse called *Deva*, while later on not only as *samrâj* (v 4) and *Deva*, but *Asura* as well. Further on (v 9), both are described as *Kshatriya*, *Aditi* was delivered of them both (v 3), while their pro-creator, not creator, was Daksha. Both are the bestowers and regulators of the two-fold (v 6)—the aerial and earthly—food, and are asked by the seer to send down rain. This hymn is of 3 distinct pieces, the 1st piece ending with the 9th verse. There is a suspicion that in this piece the compound word *Mitrâ-Varuṇav* is applied to the sun and the moon. Though the connection of Mitra with *gavyûti* 'pasture' is not alluded to in any of the hymns mentioned so far, it cannot seriously be maintained that that connection was quite unknown to seers in the Samhitâ age. In the last (62nd) hymn of the Third Book, the last triplet is in honour of Mitra and Varuṇa, and in that triplet both the gods are asked by the

seer Jamadagni ' to sprinkle the *gavyûti* with *ghṛita* = fat, and the waters with *madhu* = honey '. The word *gavyûti* may here mean also ' kine '. In this triplet, Jamadagni calls Mitra and Varuṇa neither *Deva* nor *Asura*. However, in the 66th hymn of the 5th Book, the connection (v 3) of the chariots of Mitra and Varuṇa with ' the wide pasture ' is distinctly established.

V.—THE AVESTIC & THE VEDIC 'FIRE'.

The Vedic *agni* ' fire ' is no doubt often a *Deva* ; but at times, curiously enough, he is an *Asura* (1, 12, V ; 1, 15, V ; 3, 2, VII). In such verses that are comparatively so few as to form not more than a drop in the ocean of the 18000 verses, *agni* is *Asura*, not *Deva* ; the word *Deva* does not generally occur in *these* or *such* verses.

In one of the most remarkable, though very short hymn (13, VII), *a* fire, who ' destroyed the *Asuras* ' in the 1st, and ' relieved the *Devas* in distress ' in the 2nd, is asked in the 3rd verse ' to show the way to ' or ' find out land for the Brahman ', which word in this place denotes decidedly ' a people ', not ' a prayer ' or ' an offering '.

The Vedic ' fire ' will thus be found to have been an *Asura*, as well as a destroyer of the *Asuras*, that is a *Deva*, exactly like Mitra. When Mitra is described as protecting the Devas, the destruction of the Asuras by him is as a matter of course implied, the Asuras being latterly counted among the *permament* foes of the Devas. But the Zoroastrians assign the office of *zaotar* among the divinities to Mithra, while the Brahmins recognise *agni* as the *hotṛi*. The Latins, like the later Brahmins, were among the races which recognised fire as *ignis*, though Mitra among the former seems to have been not even known. The Zoroastrians on the other hand were formed of races, which, while they recognised Mitra as Mithra, did not recognise fire as *agni*, but as *âtar-âthr*.

The Avestic ' âtar ' possibly connected with the Vedic ' atra '.

When so many words are common to both the Zoroastrian and Brahminical Scriptures, one is not likely to be charged with being on the wrong scent, if he were to search the latter for the word *âtar-âthr*.

The word *atrin* is one which denotes a tribe or tribes, with whom the Vedic people carried on a bitter war. The fact of *Agni* being called upon to make the *atrins* childless can be explained on no other supposition than that the struggles between the *atrins* or *atra*-worshippers on the one hand, and the *agni*-worshippers on the other, were carried on with a good deal of bitterness, possibly on both the sides. The word *atrin* is a possessive adjective formed from *atra*, which has at least the appearance of being the same with *âtar-âthr*. The object of worship being the same, though differently named, the cause of bitterness must be sought more in the difference of the form of worship than in any thing else. Though the word *atra* from which the adjective *atrin* is derived was in all probability the *âtar* or *âthr* of Zoroastrian Scriptures, it is a fact that the word itself as denoting fire does not occur in the Vocabulary of Vedic ritualists, though the word *atharva* (10, 1, I—Taittir Brâh) or *atharyu* (3, XXXVIII—Vâj Samhitâ), which in the Brâhmaṇa, or rather the pre-Brâhmaṇa period denoted one of the three fires, the parent stem of the later Brahminical *trayî* of *dakshiṇâgni*, *gârhapatya* and *âhavanîya*, deserves to be mentioned. The word *atharvan* seems to have originally meant a 'possessor of *athar*, a priest', and as such is found in the Samhitâ '*atharvabhyodât*' (24, 47, VI). May it not be that *atra* is the later form assumed by the older *athar* 'fire'?

Importance of the three words Agni, Mitra and Hotri.

While *Agni* is thus the connecting link between the Latin and Brahminical races, the connecting link between the Iranian and Brahminical races will have to be sought in Mitra, not in *Agni*. Though the word *hotṛi* can thus easily connect the Iranian with Brahminical races, it is quite powerless to establish a connection between the Brahminical races on the one hand and the Latin races on the other.

It will not, perhaps, be posssible to find the office of *zaotar* assigned to *âtar-âthr* in Zoroastrian Scriptures, as the worshippers have latterly identified their *âtar-âthr* with, or called him the son of, the Great Lord.

What is meant by 'the Fire of the Great Lord' in this *yas't* is not quite clear; it possibly meant some volcano or volcanic crater, whose perpetual flame was naturally the object of veneration and worship to the surrounding tribes, who in the flame saw the manifestation of the Great Lord, whose worshippers they were. The origin of the *first* fire-worship will have to be sought in some active volcano or volcanic crater. Even in the Vedas will be found expressions, which strongly smell of having had their origin in the worship of a volcanic fire. A fire that is 'measureless' or 'bottomless' (11, 27, I) and 'causes heaven and earth to quake' (3, 31, I) could not have been the fire burning in the sanctuary or the kitchen, it must have been some *svayambhû* (to use the language of the Kâs'mîrian Kalhaṇa 34, I, Râja-taraṅgiṇî) fire 'spontaneously bursting out of the bowels of the earth', scorching or burning down periodically the surrounding regions with the hot lava, and causing a good deal of seismic disturbance. Though there is thus a suspicion that in some verses at least it was the volcanic fire that was worshipped or honoured, the so called *sacred* fire, which is described in Vedic verses, is generally the fire produced from the two pieces of some sacrificial or holy wood by friction. The fire that has obtained recognition in the Brahminical ritual is the fire produced by friction, the upper piece of wood being described as 'the father' or Purû-ravas the Prince, and the lower piece of wood 'the mother' or Urvas'î the Princess, the fire that is produced by their friction is appropriately described as the 'son' or Âyus; the Vedic notion of fire being the son, will thus be found to be connected with the two pieces supposed to represent the two parents. Whether this Vedic notion was the basis or at the bottom of the universal belief of the Zoroastrians that *âtar* or *âthr* was the son of the Great Lord is a point which need not be discussed here, as there is nothing at least in this *yas't* directly expressive or even remotely suggestive of such a relationship between *âtar* or *âthr* and the Great Lord.

The 'fire' of the Great Lord.

Sonship of the Vedic fire explained.

VI.—THE VEDIC 'HOTRI' AND THE AVESTIC 'ZAOTAR'.

While there is thus no possibility of the office of *zaotar* being assigned to *âtar-âthr* in the Avestic, *agni* will be found universally recognised as the *hotṛi* of the Devas in the *samhitâ* and also in the post-Samhitâ literature; even the Veda of the *hotṛi*, that is Ṛig-Veda, is in its entirety ascribed to one *Agni*, the fact of its having had different seers or authors for different hymns being either forgotten or conveniently taken no notice of. The assignment of the office of *hotṛi* to *agni* dates from a time when the *hotṛi* had risen in importance, and when the custom of throwing into the fire the offerings intended for the *Devas* had attained a universality which it had not enjoyed before.

Division of the office of "hotri".

The mortals having had a *hotṛi*, the immortals too were provided with one in the shape of *agni* whose duty was to receive the offering from the priest as he received them from the congregation, and to deliver them to the divinity or divinities called out. Both the mortal and the immortal *hotṛis* had to call out the divinity or divinities; but while the duty of the former after the calling out was to see that the offerings were made over to the flame, the duty of the latter was to see that they were duly delivered to those called out. Both the *hotṛis* thus delivered; but the mortal *hotṛi* delivered rather to the flame, while the actual delivery was the duty of the immortal *hotṛi*. When there is no mortal *hotṛi*, the immortal *hotṛi* cannot act, because he has nothing with him to deliver; while, if there be no immortal *hotṛi*, how can the offerings received by the mortal *hotṛi* from his congregation be taken to or reach the immortals? The immortal *hotṛi* is thus the tie which in the *samhitâ* literature indissolubly binds the mortal world with the immortal. The mortal *hotṛi* may thus be called the lower, the immortal the higher—the office of the Vedic *hotṛi* may thus be split into two grades.

In the Mihr-yas't, there is the mortal *zaotar* and also the im-

'Zaotar' distinguished from 'Hotri'.

mortal Mithra. But in the Vedic literature, the mortal and the immortal worlds may be said to meet in *agni*, while in K. 23 the two worlds are made to run parallel, the mortal *zaotar* being described as the counterpart of *Mithra* the immortal *zaotar*. Both the mortal and the immortal worlds worship *Ahura-mazda* 'the Great Lord', who, the immortal or higher world being in direct communication with him, is pleased to appoint Mithra as its *zaotar*. The *zaotar* in the mortal or lower world, having no direct communication with the *zaotar* in the immortal or higher, had no other course left but to pick up the words of worship, as they came down to him, perhaps in intuition. The substance of the lines seems to be that what the *zaotar* says or does in the mortal or lower, is the counterpart of what Mithra says or does in the immortal or higher world. In fact, what the mortal Iranian *zaotar* says or does on behalf of his mortal congregation is a counterpart, how-so-ever imperfect or feeble, of what the immortal Mithra says or does on behalf of his congregation of the *ames'â-spentas*; thus the stream of the lower ritual is supposed to run parallel to that of the higher, both ultimately resting in *Ahura-mazda* 'the Great Lord'.

VII.—THE POSITIONS OF THE AVESTIC 'ZAOTAR' AND THE VEDIC 'HOTRI' CONTRASTED.

Position of the 'Zaotar' defined.

Centuries no doubt must have passed before the discordant or divergent Iranian tribes found out the one converging point of *Ahura-mazda*. The worship of *Ahura-mazda* will ever be remembered in the history of mankind as the one, which wonderfully succeeded in the trans-Indus East in welding many heterogeneous and often antagonistic tribes into such a homogeneous whole, that, not long after the destructive avalanche, the incendiary of Persepolis, had passed away, there was left enough of vitality which enabled the Parthians in earlier times to successfully stem the all-sweeping flood of the invincible legions of Republican Rome by inflicting for the first time in her history a crush-

ing defeat on Crassus, and which later on stimulated the Palhavas to capture and imprison the old Kaiser of Imperial Rome ; it was owing to this vitality, that the great Naushirvan and the Palhavas, after the blotting out of old Rome from the political world, ultimately succeeded in exacting tribute from the new Rome, owning the rule of a Kaiser, who by his irresistable power had wrested from the several claimants the Eternal City with all her possessions in the then-known world. *Ahura-mazda* thus formed the one goal, the only goal, which the Iranian *zaotar* had in view, he did not concern himself so much with Mithra, whose counterpart he supposed himself to be, or with the *Ames'â-spentas* whose *zaotar* he supposed Mithra to be, though Mithra in his eyes was no doubt immortal and so were the *Ames'â-spentas*. The Iranian *zaotar* was anxious to please rather Ahura-Mazda the One Sovereign of the Immortals than any of the Immortals acknowledging His sovereignty. The sovereignty of Ahura-Mazda is thus the central sun, round which Mithra and the *Ames'â-spentas* like so many planets will be found revolving in the ritualistic atmosphere of Iran. There are no attempts to bedim the light of the central luminary by ascribing human weaknesses to Ahura-Mazda. No *human* weaknesses could as a matter of fact be ascribed to Him ; he is not included even among the *Ames'â-spentas*, the recognised Immortals, but is set high above them, even their recognised head Mithra loudly singing his praises. There is no doubt a piece in which Ahura-Mazda through His palace is made to do homage to Mithra ; but such pieces or passages are evidently the venerable relics of older times, when Mithra and Ahura-Mazda being rival divinities, the Mithra-worshippers naturally set their Mithra above Ahura-Mazda of Ahur-worshippers; they can certainly not be a product of the times, which followed the attainment by Ahura-Mazda of the central position in the system. It was this unique position occupied by Ahura-Mazda in the Iranian system, which prevented the priestly classes from ascribing human weakenses to Him. The same position seems to have contributed not a little to the preservation and perpetuation of the supremacy of the warrior classes in the land of Irân, until its final destruction by the rising " companions " and followers of the *rigorously* Unitarian Prophet of the 7th Christian century.

Position of the 'hotri' contrasted.

The position of the Indian *hotṛi* will be found to have been altogether different. There is in the Indian system the mortal *hotṛi*, there is the immortal *hotṛi* too; but there is no corresponding Ahura-mazda, placed high above the immortals. The Indian ritual is conspicuous by the absence of any central sun, around which the whole system may be said to revolve. Not that no attempt was made by Indians at the fixing of a central luminary. In the later ritual and also in the Upanishads, there is the so-called *Prajâ-pati* (Lord of children, *Father*), who is certainly the Ahura-Mazda of the Vedic religion. There is in the 10th Book a very fine hymn (h 121), whose antiquity is attested by the pronoun *kim* being used for the relative *yat* or the correlative *tat*, and also by the fathering of the hymn on this *ka*, who, owing to the vocative *Praja -pate* being used in the last verse, is made the son of *Prajâ-pati* ! ! ! The hymn is not in honour of *a* 'Deva', but *the* 'Deva', who is in the last verse called *Prajâ-pati* 'Father'. The words *havih* and *juhumah* are there; but they need not be connected with the 'throwing into fire', as they may also be derived from the older *hva* or *hu* 'to invoke'. If the goal of this *Prajâ-pati* had been steadily kept in view, and all rites etc. made to converge to it, the achievement of the Indians would have equalled that of the Iranians. But this *Prajâ-pati* seems to to have appeared too late on the scene, he seems to have appeared at a time when the struggle for supremacy between the priestly and warrior classes had assumed an acute form, and when the priestly classes had lost all reverence for the Devas, even the mighty Indra being accused of a Brahmin -murder in the destruction of *Vṛitra* and therefore ignominiously dragged down from the high pedestal occupied by him in the hymns. To the priestly classes, the *yajna* "sacrifice" created by *Prajâ-pati* was all in all. They had nothing to do with *Prajâ-pati* the creator of *yajna*, and they even went the length of describing his incestuous intercourse, which had shocked all the Devas, with his own daughter ! ! ! The Indian ritualistic age thus presents an exceedingly sad spectacle to which no parallel is likely to be found elsewhere. There being thus no divinity in the Vedic pantheon corresponding to Ahura-mazda of the Iranian, the Indian *hotṛi* had

before him only the immortals to whom he sacrificed. When it became customary to throw into fire the offerings intended for the gods, the visible divinity, in whose charge the offerings to invisible divinities were given, became naturally the object of the highest reverence, a part of which was readily transferred to the mortal *hotṛi* by the congregation. The principle thus followed was that of "give and take," the mortals first giving to and then in their turn taking or at least expecting something in return from the immortals. There being no room for the Highest Divinity inspiring awe and reverence, there was more of worldliness in the dealings between the mortals represented by their *hotṛi* and the immortals represented by their Agni. As in Iran, so in India, there were contests among the worshippers of the several divinities, and latterly between the two great divisions of the worshippers of Agni and Indra, represented by the priestly and warrior classes respectively; but while in Irân they terminated in the absorption of all other worshippers into those of the one and all—powerful Ahura-mazda, in India they ultimately ended in the establishment of the superiority of the priestly classes and their complete identification with Agni, throwing into Agni (fire) and placing on the hand of a priest, having come to be regarded as of equal efficacy (8, IV, Âsh. Gṛi. Sûtra).

VIII—THE VEDIC MITRA—A JOINT HOTRI.

It cannot be said that the claim of *Mitra* to the office of *hotṛi* was quite unknown during the Vedic times. If *Mitra* is not likely to appear as the sole claimant, his joint claim with *Varuṇa*, the connecting link between the Brahminical and Greek races, to that office can be very easily established. In the Vedic ritual (16, 60, VIII) there were 7 priests claiming the designation *hotṛi*. Whether these 7 *hotris* of the *Samhitâ* were identical with the 7 *hotṛis* viz *hotṛi* proper, *Maitrâ-Varuṇa*, *Achchh â-vâka*, *Brâhmaṇâch-shansin*, *Potṛi*, *Neshṭṛi*, *Âgnîdhra* of the later ritualistic age, is a point which need not be discussed here. Among the 7 *hotṛis* of the later ritualistic age, the more important were the first four ; and among the first four the most prominent

The seven " Hotṛis."

were the first two, viz *hotṛi* proper and *Maitrâ-Varuṇa*. The older name of the second priest was *Prasʹâstṛi*. The word *Prasʹastṛi* meant " issuer of orders ", of course to the various sacrificial priests, especially to the six *hotṛi* priests; and the two recognised issuers of orders in the investing formula (10, 1, III, Asʹv Sʹr Sût) being *Mitrâ-Varuṇav*, the priest who represented them was indiscriminately called *Prasʹastṛi* or *Maitrâ-Varuṇa*, though the former designation seems to be the older, and the latter the later. As the issuer of orders, the *Prasʹâstṛi* carried in his hand a " staff ", which represented undoubtedly the sceptre, and on which he had to lean when issuing the solemn sacrificial orders. The *Prasʹâstṛi* was quite indispensable in a bloody sacrifice. Was the sceptre-bearing and the order-issuing *Prasʹâstṛi* originally also the invoking *hotṛi* in the bloody sacrifice? and could the assignment of the office of *zaotar* to *Mithra* by the Iranians have had anything to do with the position of the invoking priest *hotṛi*, occupied by the sceptre-bearing and order-issuing *Prasʹastṛi* in the older bloody sacrifice of the Indians?

IX—THE TWO "HOTṚIS" OF THE ÂPRÎ HYMNS.

Now crops up the question of the " two *hotṛis* ". This question is rather Indian than Iranian. That the number of the *hotṛis* was originally two is placed beyond the domain of dispute by the *âprî* verses (8, 13, I,) of the bloody sacrifice, which invariably mention " two *hotṛis* of the Devas " or " immortals ", to whom the two 'hotṛis' of the mortals were said or made to correspond. How were these two *hotṛis* named? Were *Varenya* and *Pûrvya* (2 and 5, 26, I) the names of these two *hotṛis*? These were, perhaps, the names of the two *hotṛis* of Agni, each divinity being furnished with a pair of them. Was the Vedic *Varenya* in any way connected with the Avestic *Varenian*? Were the two *hotṛis* of *Mitrâ-Varuṇav* known by the name of *Prasʹâstarav*?

The words *hotṛi* (m) and *hotrâ* (f) are both derived from *hva*

Of the two 'Hotris' the one female, the other male.

-hu "to call, and originally must have meant a "priest" in general, *hotṛi* being the male and *hotrâ* the female priest. The male priest was perhaps intended for the male, and the female for the female divinity; and when the two divinities formed a pair, the one of which was the male and the other the female, their service seems to have required a male priest for the male and a female one for the female divinity. That the dual *hotârav* is vague and that it *may* mean one male *hotṛi* and the other female *hotṛi*, that is *hotrâ*, will become clear when the aphorism *Pumân striyâ* (67, 2, I) is taken into *full* considertion. Even the word *Mitrâ* in *Mitrâ-Varuṇav* must originally have denoted a female divinity, and *Mitrâ* as a female divinity is found, though very seldom in the *Samhitâ* (2, 25, VIII). The word *Dvandva* primarily meant a pair, that is "one female and one male", and the word *devatâ-dvandva* must in very old times have been applied to two divinities of differerent sexes. The compound *Mitrâ-Varunav* thus in all probability denoted in the earliest times one female and one male divinity, the female being the more honoured came first and the male followed her in the compound. This female-honouring age seems to have been followed by the age in which there was a gulf separating the female from the male, as the former attended or had to attend to the household duties, while the latter occupied himself with the field. In the hymns or verses in which the compound *Mitrâ-Varuṇav* is found, it meant in all likelihood the female Mitrâ and the male *Varuṇa*. Such hymns or verses are apparently older, while those, in which Mitra is separated from *Varuṇa* and made a male, are apparently later. The canon applied to *Mitrâ-Varuṇav* may with equal force be applied to *Agnî-Varuṇav*. Both the divine pairs are very interesting; while their first members established a connection of the Indian with the Iranian and Latin races respectively, the second member, which is identical in both, connects the Indian with the Hellenic races. *Mitrâ* and *Agni* or rather *Agnî*, though thus originally two female divinities, came in course of time to be recognised as two male divinities, and the office of the female priest being abolished, *hotrâ* disappeared, and with her disappearance was sown the

seed of the lowering of womankind in matters r ligious. When the Âprî hymns speak of the two *hotṛis* of the *Devas*, they in all probability mean "one *hotṛi* and one *hotrâ*," the latter invoking the females and the former the males among the *Devas*.

Why should the *ignis*-worship have had only virgins connected with it? The *Agni*, who conceived the warrior-god Skanda, must originally have been a female divinity; but the fact being forgotten, the Puraṇas have gone to the absurd length of asserting the motherhood of a male divinity!!!

X—THE AHURA-WORSHIPPERS AND THE DEVA-WORSHIPPERS.

Before turning to the two words *Ahura* or *Asura* and *Deva*, which together form the one foundation-stone, on which, curiously enough, the two stately edifices of the intensely antagonistic Zoroastrian and Brahminical religions will be found to be reared, let us first cast a cursory glance at the historical achievements of the *Ahura*-worshippers, and compare or rather contrast them with those of the trans-Indus and also the cis-Indus *Deva*-worshippers.

How Ahura-worshippers distinguished themselves.

The flood of *Ahura*-worshippers, having inundated the whole of Asia Minor and received tribute from its *Deva*-worshipping *yavanas* or Ionians, once passed over into Europe, where it was successfully checked by the kith and kin of the Asiatic *Deva*-worshippers. The *Deva*-worshipping tyrant of Macedon for a time ravaged the empire of the *Ahura*-worshippers, burned down Persepolis with its magnificent library, and put an end to the royal dynasty; but not long after, the *Ahura*-worshippers had sufficient stamina left in them to form a small principality, which soon expanded into a kingdom presenting an invulnerable wall to which no appreciable damage could be done by the *Deva*-worshipping legions even of mighty Rome; as a matter of fact, the onward progress of the deluge, which had spread in four directions and carried down all opposition before it, of the *Deva*-worshipping legions of Rome was

at last successfully arrested for the *first* time in her history by this *Ahura*-worshipping people. Even imperial Rome felt the power of the *Ahura*-worshippers and unable to avenge the defeat, only bit her lips, when her *Deva*-worshipping emperor was taken prisoner and kept in confinement by Shâh-puhar (Sapor). One irresistible force viz. Christianity had already appeared in the field ; not long after Shâh-puhar, another irresistible force viz. Islam, a formidable rival to the former, also made its appearance. The *Ahura*-worshippers found worthy rivals in the worshippers of Christ and Allâh. In the vocabulary of the Christ-worshippers, there was the word *Deva*, though transformed into *Theos* or *Deus*, but no *Ahura*. So Christ-worshippers may in a way be called *Deva*-worshippers. But the Allâh-worshippers knew neither *Deva* nor *Ahura*. Though the *Ahura*-worshippers succeeded in exacting tribute from the Latins, who in becoming worshippers of *one* Deva may be said to have distinctly followed in the foot-steps of the Ahura-worshippers, their undoubted seniors, if not direct teachers, in mono-theism, they shortly found in the Allâh-worshippers more than a match for them, and were crushed so completely that the very few who remained had to leave their native land and become fugitives in India, where the *Deva*-worshippers, being solicited with their usual generosity un-grudgingly extended a helping hand and granted them an asylum. Though better known as Mazda-yasnis, they are still *Ahura*-worshippers, *Ahura* being the axis around which the whole system revolves.

Eastern imperialism contrasted with Western.

Being surrounded by hostile tribes and hordes of nomadic barbarians, the supremacy of the warrior classes was a thing that could not be dispensed with among the *Ahura*-worshippers ; and they were therefore, as if instinctively, imperialistic. But this imperialism of an *Ahura*-worshipper was ever tempered with spirituality, while the imperialism of Rome had no such word in its vocabulary. A Roman fought to enrich and embellish Rome ; to a Roman there was nothing higher than Rome. An *Ahura*-worshipper also fought ; but his eyes were not so much turned to any earthly city or being as to *Ahura*, the one invisible creator and also the dispenser of all blessings. A Roman taught nothing else to the con-

quered, but to pay tribute to Rome and not to grumble at the exactions or extortions of the rapacious pro-consuls and consuls appointed by her. An *Ahura*-worshipper also did almost all these things; but his first solicitude was to spread the spiritual blessings which he had received, by making them better known and thus acceptable to those whom he conquered. The conquered was entitled to all the privileges, political and social, of the *Ahura*-worshipping conqueror, the moment he spiritually communed with him. Thus *Ahura*-worship once created a bond of fraternity, and in this light may be held to have been the pre-cursor of both Christianity and Mahomedanism. This very high eastern ideal, the worldly western Roman, both republican and imperial, was a complete stranger to; he colonised among the conquered, but he never fraternised with them. As a matter of fact, the Roman, when he did not colonise, was extremely jealous of the conquered and took precious care above all to keep them divided. Here are the two ideals, the western or Roman and the eastern or Ahurian, which must ever remain asunder like the northern and southern poles. The victories of the eastern Parthians and the Pahlavas over the western Romans will undoubtedly be regarded and recorded by an unbiassed historian of the world as the victories of the bracing spiritualism of the east over the softening materialism of the west. The vein of imperialism will thus be found to have run in the bodies politique of the eastern nations as well; but in the East it has always been tempered more or less with spirituality. Christianity did once deal a death-blow to the materialistic imperialism of Rome; but whether, as a spiritualising agency, she is yet a power, or the West, having gradually scattered to the winds, the sublime code of ethics received by her for the *first* time from the Great Teacher of Nazareth in the East, is again lapsing into the corrupting and corroding materialism of republican and imperial Rome, time alone will prove. It was thus the inborn or ingrained spiritualistic imperialism, set ablaze and often made to burn fiercely by a combination of time, surroundings and circumstances, which enabled the Ahura-worshippers to have their name engraved in golden letters in the histories of the West. Politically speaking, theirs was, no doubt, an enviable lot.

How the Indian *Deva*-worshippers distinguished themselves.

The *Deva*-Worshippers may be divided into three classes, the Romans or Latins, the Greeks, and the Indians, the word *Deva* being applied to superior good beings in the vocabularies of all the three. The *Deva*-worshippers, cursed in Avestic literature, most probably belonged neither to the Latin nor to the Greek races; they must have belonged to the Indian races. The lot of the Indian *Deva*-worshippers with whom we are immediately concerned was *after all* not less enviable. While the A*hura*-worshippers became more and more practical and dreamed of empires, often carving them out, the *Deva*-worshippers grew more and more theoretical, or rather speculative, and dreamed of schisms and heresies, some of which ultimately degenerated into the *charaṇas*, popularly known as the *śâkhâs* and the *pâkhaṇḍas*. As long as there were actual invasions of hostile tribes or hordes of barbarians, and if no actual invasions, at least apprehensions of them, the A*gni*-worshippers, made up of priestly classes, made a common cause with the *Indra*-worshippers, made up of warrior classes. But when the invasions ceased, the activity of the priestly classes was turned towards the development of the ritual. As the ritual developed, the importance of the priestly classes increased. Thus was commenced the long struggle between the priestly and warrior classes among the Indian *Deva*-worshippers, which ended in the bringing down of the warrior classes to the level of the industrial by an established hierarchy of priests claiming descent from the seven *Rishis*, who were nothing more than the old tribal names individualised. The traces of the long and bitter struggle, a careful reader will not fail to observe in the Brâhmaṇa literature, where even the great Indra is accused of a Brahmin-murder in the destruction of *Vṛitra*, and is therefore terribly degraded and mercilessly dragged down from the premier place he occupies in the early hymns in the *Samhitâ*. While the priestly classes became more and more ritualistic, the warrior classes cultivated philosophy. The priestly classes approached the warrior classes, and be it said to the credit of the warrior classes, that what they knew they ungrudgingly taught to the priestly classes. There are traditions, preserved (ch. 5, Chhândogya Upanishad) in the *Upanishads*, which unequivocally establish that

some of the doctrines which latterly became very popular among the priestly classes were originally taught by princes, of course, of the warrior classes. On this side of the Indus, there was no Roman Empire to contend with. But Bud-dha, himself a prince, established a religion which was no doubt practical, though atheistic and therefore pessimistic, and in which the Brahminical ritual with its divinities was held up to ridicule; and the religion of Bud-dha was the Roman Empire, against which the *Deva*-worshipping Brahmin of India had to direct his weapons, of course, controversial. The *Deva*-worshipping Brahmin, originally more or less theistic and therefore optimistic, went on theorising, or rather speculating, on or about much that was problematical, anything practical being as a general rule neglected. Hence arose the various schools of philosophy with their more subtle expositors who had grown quite sick of this world owing to their contact with Bud-dhism, and who shine as so many fixed stars, exacting admiration even from the thinking Western minds of to-day, in the brilliant atmosphere of the Sanskrit philosophical literature.

The modern descendant of the ancient *Deva*-worshipping ritualists or philosophers has very little in common with his ancestors, except that he is ever averse to make any attempt that would establish harmony between his theory and practice. He has as a matter of fact receded far from the Vedic religion in the matter of *s'rauta* 'the ritual as observed by priests in the sacrifice' and *grihya* "the ritual as observed by house-holders in the house." If his Vedic ancestors were to make a sudden descent from heaven, they would find it simply impossible to recognise their descendants; such is not likely to be the case between the modern *Ahura*-worshipper as he is found to-day and his remote Iranian ancestor. The spirit of the ritual of the modern *Ahura*-worshipper seems to be the same, his rites and divinities being almost identical with those of his ancestors; while even the modern *Deva*-worshipping Brahmin, calling himself and claiming to be the spiritual guide of his more ignorant followers, himself observes so many new rites and admits so many new divinities into his pantheon, that the spirit even of the authors

The modern Ahura-worshipper and the Deva-worshipper contrasted.

of the *grihya-sûtras*, which are unquestionably posterior to the *s'rauta-sûtras* or "sacrificial manuals," and which teach the duties of house-holders only, may be said to have completely left him long since.

XI—THE WORDS "AHURA" AND "DEVA"

The word *Ahura* will be found used as an adjective of Mithra in K 7, while in K 17 the adjective *ahura* clearly mean "lord, master". In the Vedic language the word *Asura* is one whose older meaning the later Brahminical tradition may be said on the whole to have failed to preserve, as the word subsequently became a synonym of "devil, fiend". The same remark may with equal force be applied to the word *Deva* in the Avestic language. The older meaning of the word *Ahura-Asura* ought thus to be sought in the Avestic, while that of *Deva* in the Vedic literature. Though the older meaning of the word *Asura* is therefore not preserved in the later Brahminical tradition, there will be found in the *Samhitâ* (4, 3, III) scattered here and there verses, in which the word occurring at times with *râjan* "ruler", and at times without it, leaves no doubt as to its originally having had some such meaning as is given to it in the Avestic literature.

"Ahura" possibly denoted "a human being."

The word *Ahura*, no doubt, does not denote in the Avestic language "human beings" or "a division" of them, but is applied to the Highest Spirit and also to Spirits like *Mithra* made subordinate to Him. *Ahura* and His subordinates being thus of the spiritual world, the *Devas* also (K. 8 and 13) with the *Mashyas*, the *Yâtus*, the *Pairikas*, the *Sâtars*, the *Kavis* and the *Karpans*, who are all described as their active enemies, must belong to the same world.

But curiously enough, the *mashyas* were no spirits, no aerial beings, they were "human beings"; in fact, the word *mashya* means "man" in this very Kard. If it be insisted on that by *mashya* the whole mankind need not be indiscriminately taken, but only the wicked portion of it, by supposing that very or some similar

adjective to be understood before or after it, why should the same adjective be not in that case be supposed to be understood before or after the six remaining nouns as well ? In fact, there is a strong suspicion, that *mashya* did not denote in this particular place the whole of mankind, but only a division of it; the remaining six words also in very early times must have denoted the remaining six divisions or sub-divisions. *Kârpâṇâ* will be found in the *Samhitâ* (tvam tân vritrahatye chodayo nṛîn Kârpâṇe s'ura vajrivah—10, 22, X) as the name of a province.

Avestic Mashya and Vedic Manushya.

Mashya may be a cognate of *manushya* or not; it is to the Vedic literature, that the world will be found indebted for a good preservation of the histories of the 3 most interesting words *Manu-shya*, *Deva*, and even *Asura*. Was there any connection between the Avestic *mashya* and *mesha*, one of the Vedic (1, 51, I) epithets of Indra? "Indra the Mesha" in all likelihood meant either "Indra the strong" or "Indra the man", though the language having become dead, the priests rendered it by "Indra the Ram" (!!!), and invented an absurd legend in connection with it.

The "Manushyas" originally a tribe of warriors.

The word *manushya* in the classical language is applied to the whole of mankind, and *Manus* is therefore made the "first man". The Puranic literature makes *Manu* the first ancestor, not so much of the whole of mankind, as of the two well-known races, solar and lunar, ratherof the *râjans* "kings" and "their classes"; the princes of the solar race were carried up to him directly, those of the lunar being connected with him through *Ilâ*, his daughter. During the ritualistic age, when a bitter struggle for supremacy was going on between the priestly and warrior classes, the former did not acknowledge the latter as their kindred, but traced themselves from one or more of the 7 *rishis* among whom no room was found for *Manu* who (15, XII, of the *Âshv S'hr Sût*) they held was the father of latter. This expedient was in all likelihood resorted to by some among the priestly classes, when the bolder among the warrior classes, especially kings or princes, claiming equality with them in sacrificial matters insisted on an independent ancestry, while the humbler among the

warrior classes, who had not the courage to claim equality with them had their ancestors passed over in silence, the priest substituting his own ancestors (4, 11, XI-Âs'v S'r Sût) for theirs, thereby clearly creating a doubt about the purity of their descent. The priestly classes in this age thus called themselves the children of the seven *Rishis*; and while the more powerful among the warrior classes in these ages formed the children of *Manu*, the humbler ones among them were looked upon as the children of the left-hand marriages or mesalliances between priests and females of the warrior classes of by-gone ages. But again curiously enough, when the ancestors of the sacrificer, be he of any class, are not known or are doubtful, the name of *Manu* is recommended to be (5, 3, I, Âs'v S'r Sût) substituted. *Manu* is thus in ritualistic manuals with one breath recognised as the first ancestor *only* of the warrior classes, and with another as the first ancestor of *all* the three, viz the priestly, the warrior, and the industrial classes, into which the cis-Indus Aryan Society of the time was divided. From the classical, the Purâṇic and the ritualistic, we go high up to the Vedic Sanskrit, and even there find the same confusion. In the Taitt Brh (8, 5, 1, I) in the address to the fire at the time of its consecration, *Manu* is made the first ancestor of only the industrial classes. In some verses (5, 59, I) the fire is described as the "lord of the (soil-) tillers, descended from *Manus*;" the "tadhita" compound "the descendants of *Manu*" denotes not only the whole of mankind, but also one of the five divisions into which it was then divided. But there are verses (2, 9, III, and 8, 39, VIII) in which the expressions like *panch-mânusha* and *sapta-mânusha*, corresponding to *panch-kṛishṭi*, naturally raise a suspicion that *mânusha* in them denoted the *whole* of mankind, not one of its divisions or sub-divisions.

The "Devas" also a division of mankind.

The reader may here be referred to the paper "Three interesting Vedic hymns" in the 1899 number of the Bombay Branch the Royal Asiatic Society in which an attempt has been made to throw light on the meaning of the word *Deva* in the Vedic literature. In the hymns of the class of the Vṛishâkapi and Saramâ the word *Deva* seems to mean as much "a division of mankind," as "a star" in the Aditi hymn-

The Vedic *Devas*, the Avestic *Daevas*, the Greek *Theoi* and the Latin Dei-dii-Di, the pre-Vedic *Div* (sing.), *Divah* or *Divas* (plu.), in all probability originally formed 'a militant division of mankind' holding the *Manu* or *Manus* in subjection. In the *Vrishâkapi* hymn, the *Devas* appear as masters and the *Manus* or the *Mânavas* as slaves. After some time the tide seems to have turned and the *Devas* had to make the present of a young and beautiful maiden or damsel to *Purû-ravas* who though far advanced in years was considered by them and who proved himself to be more than a match for their enemies, the *Dasyus* (7 and 8, 95, X). In another place also, the *Devas* are described as being " able to bear the *Dasyus* " (9, 29, III). owing to the favour of the God *Agni*. In the 5th Book, an allusion will be found even to the *Dasyus* (10, 29) that were "noseless," that is " flat-nosed ", evidently some Mongolian tribes. When the *Dasyus* in some of the Vedic verses and hymns will thus have to be held as being human beings, does it not stand to reason that their enemies or those whose enemies they were, should also be held to have been human beings ? Again are not the expressions like " non-*Deva*-enemies " (3, 11, VIII,) and " stratagems of the non-*Devas* " (10, 1, VII) likely to lead one to the conclusion of both the *Devas* and non-*Devas* having originally been human beings ? " May (we) the *Devas* overpower the *Asuras* " (4, 53, X) is a line in which the author describes himself as having belonged to the *Deva* division of mankind. There seems to have thus been a time or age, when the known mankind was divided into two great divisions of the *Devas* and *a-Devas* or non-*Devas*. In this age the non-*Devas* and the *Dasyus* were either the same, or the latter formed a sub-division of the former. The student of the *Samhitâ*, soaring very high, can catch at least a glimpse of those most remote times when the word *Deva* was indiscriminately used for all, and when " the *Eastern Devas* (7, 7, III) followed the rites of the (Western) and prospered". This verse seems to be commemorative of those times, when one division had not seceded from the other. In the opinion of the author of the verse, it was the *Eastern* or Ahura Division that seceded, the *Western* or Deva division continuing to represent the parent stem.

The " eastern *Devas* " is a phrase which denoted in Vedic

times the *Asuras* and as a compound word, it is preserved even in classical Sanskrit. The word *Deva* thus in most remote times denoted the " whole of mankind ". Then followed the times in which the *Devas* were divided between " the Eastern and the Western "; these times seem to have been followed by others, in which the *Devas* had to be distinguished from the *a-Devas*, with whom they generally fought. The eastern division of the *Devas* was ultimately absorbed into the *a-Devas* it thus parted with the older name of *Deva*, the " western " division having the name of *Deva* hence exclusively applied to it.

Various meanings of 'Deva' and 'Asura'.

The word *Deva* is evidently connected with *Div*, which thus was originally the mother-land of the *Devas*, the pre-Vedic *Dayv-Dev-Div* (Wilson Philological Lectures for 1902, p. 52). It next denoted 'a star' then finally " a ray " or " a spirit of light ". The word *Asura* also has passed through almost all these stages, having at last come to denote " a spirit of darkness ". In the Vedic literature, the words *Deva* and *Asura* will both be found in all the stages. There are even verses (4, 5, III Taitt Samhitâ), in which the word *Deva* occurs exactly in the sense in which it is used in this *yas't*. The Avestic literature does not appear to be so rich as to yield the two words in all their stages. Still there are a few places which give rise to various suspicions.

That the word *Deva* should have become expressive of ideal evil in the eyes of the one, and of ideal good in that of the other Division, only proves the intense bitterness with which the wars of both were generally carried on.

XII—THE AVESTIC WORDS "DAHYU" AND " VERETHRA ".

Sanskrit *Dasyu* identical with Avestic *Dahyu*—Dan (g) hu.

As regards the meaning of the word *Dasyu* the Sanskrit literature is no safe guide. In the classical or rather the Puranic language, D *asyu* means a "robber". The word occurs sometimes in the *Brâ-*

hmaṇa literature, where (3, VII, Aitar)it means "barbarous tribes," hostile to the ritual taught in the Brâhmaṇas. In the *Samhitâ*, while the Paṇis are called " non-believers, the *dasyus* (3, 6, VII) are called " non-sacrificers. " The words *Dasyu-hatya* " destruction of the Dasyus" (7, 95, X) and *Dasyu*-hantama "superlative destroyer of the *Dasyus*" (8, 39,VIII) also occur. That the *Dasyus* were the enemies of the *Devas* and not their allies is thus proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, though no clue to the derivation of *Dasyu* is found in the Vedic literature. But the Avestic literature is as valuable in fixing the original meaning of *Dasyu*, as is the Vedic in fixing that of *Deva*. The political organisation of the *Ahura*-worshippers (K. 5) recognised the 4 divisions of the *nmâna* ' house ', the *vîsa* ' village ' the *zantu* " small district ", and the *dahyu* " large district, " whose " chiefs " were called the *nmâna-pati*, the *vîs-pati*, the *zantu-pati* and the *dahyu-pati* respectively. The *Deva*-worshippers have undoubtedly recognised *vis'-pati* in some of the hymns (7, 26; 12, 27 ; 11, 31) in the 1st Book. In the hymn 26, the word *Vis'-pati* occurs with *hotṛi* in the 27th if the word *daivya* be taken with the *vis'-pati*; a suspicion will be raised that equally with the *Vis'-patis* of the Devas, the *vis'-patis* of some other people also were known; in the 31st, the *Devas* are said to have made one *Âyu* the *vis'-pati* of one *Nahusha*. The *Dasyus* with whom the *Devas* often fought were thus in all probability the *Dahyus* or *Dakhyus* of the Avestic literature.

There is another word of the class of *Dasyu* and equally important with it, deserving notice in this place; it is the Avestic *Verethra* generally corresponding to the Vedic *Vṛitra*. The Avestic Verethra seems to have had two distinct meanings. When *Mithra* is called *verethravan* (K. 33), the word *verethra* is certainly not used in the sense of " enemy ". But when *Mithra* is asked at the end of each Kard to come for *verethra-ghna*, the word *verethra* can not have the same meaning as it has in *verethravân*, but it must mean "enemy ", since *ghna-ghana* (variant of *zan-jan*) means " killing, destruction ". In such places, the Vedic expressions like *ghano vṛitrâṇâmabhavah* (8, 4, I) will be of help in determining the meaning of both the words *verethra* and *ghna* or *ghanâ*.

Avestic *Verethra*—Sanskrit *Vritra*.

The word *vṛitra* is common in the *Samhitâ*; not only the adjective *vṛitra-hantama* (4, 69, VIII) and the noun *vṛitra-hatya* corresponding to *dasyu-hantama* and *dasyu-hatya* respectively occur, but in the former hymn in the 9th verse another compound word *vṛitra-tûrye* will be found used in the sense of "for destroying" or " in destruction of the enemy ". There can not thus be even the shadow of a doubt that the word *vṛitra* in the Vedic language meant an " enemy " in general In the 32nd hymn of the 1st Book, the word *Vṛitra* (v. 5) seems to be used rather as an adjective, the meaning " enemy " not being quite suitable in this particular place. The word *verethra* in *verethravân* may be connected with this *vṛitra*, and it is possibly derived from or is a synonym of *vîra*, " hero " which is one of the oldest words; it has certainly nothing to do with either the *verethra* in *verethraghna* or the *vṛitra* in *vritra-hantama* and *vritra-hatya*. While the *Dasyus* thus seem originally to have been " the enemies belonging to a particular nationality or tribe, " the *vṛitrâṇi* or *vṛitrâh* were of any nationality or tribe, in fact, " enemies " in general.

XIII—SOME MORE VEDIC AND AVESTIC WORDS.

Foes of the Devas.

Among the more celebrated tribes or nationalities mentioned in the Vedic literature as actively hostile to the *Devas*, may be mentioned the *Asuras*, the *Rakshasas*, the *Yâtus-yâtumats-yâtumâvats-yâtûdhânas*, the *Dasyus* and the *Paṇis*; later on the *Pis'achas*. All these formed their *druhas* or *nids*, that is " foes ", with whom they had to carry on wars of shorter or longer duration.

The *Asuras* and the *Rakshasas*.

Between the *Rakshasas* and the *Yâtus*, the former are of more frequent occurrence than the latter, and are the recognised allies of the *Asuras* Both are according to later ritualists, evil spirits of the first magnitude, and must at any cost be driven away from the *vedi* altar, which they are supposed to haunt (*apahatâ Asurâ Rakshâṅsi vedi-shadah*). Of the two, the *Asuras* being in old times the more ill-disposed towards the *Devas* received nothing,

and therefore could claim nothing in a sacrifice; while the *Rakshasas* not being so ill-disposed, or being perhaps, traditionally remembered as having been *once* well-disposed, and so having done some kind of service, were made recipients of the blood (*asnâ Rakshas samsṛijatât*) of the victim in a bloody, and of the chaff (*Rakshasâm bhâgosi*) in a bloodless sacrifice. It may be that the *Râkshasas* were more destructive and more obstinate, and could not be driven away or would not go, until bought off by something or another; so their good will had come to be secured by presenting them with the blood and the chaff which therefore came to be considered as either useless or unclean in a sacrifice. The *Rakshasas* with the *Yâtus* had the honour of being hated by both the *Asuras* and the *Devas*; they must have molested indiscriminately the *Asuras* and the *Devas*, and hence their shadows were so scrupulously avoided by the *Deva*-worshipping and *Ahura*-worshipping tribes alike. The word *Rakshas* does not figure so often in the Avestic as in the Vedic literature. In the Vedic hymns the word *Rakshas* is common enough, though in the Avestic literature it occurs prominently only in the 12th *Yasna*.

The *Yâtus* are of frequent occurrence in the Avestic literature; they are *often* associated (10, 36, 1 ; 20, 60, 8) with the *Rakshasas* in the Vedic In the hymn of the 1st Book, the *Atrins* too are associated with the *Rakshasas* and the *Yâtus*. In the 7th Bk. there is a remarkable hymn (h. 104), in which Indra is described as *parâs'ara* " exterminator par excellence " of the *yâtus* (vs. 21 and 22), whose 6 divisions, named after a bird or an animal, are also mentioned. All the forms assumed by the word *Yâtu* will be found recorded in the hymn. The *Paṇis* figure in the *Rig-veda*, while the *Pis'âchas* are sometimes mentioned in the *Yajur-veda* (1, 4, II–Taitt-Samhitâ), though both seem to possess no value from the Avestic stand-point ; as for the *Dasyus*, they have already been dealt with.

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XIV.—AVESTIC 'DRUJA' AND THE VEDIC 'NID'.

The Avestic races used the word *drûja*, the Vedic the word *nid*, as the Christian uses the word 'infidel' or 'heretic', and the Moslem the word *kâfir*. Of these two words, *druj* Avestic is *druh* Vedic. *Druj* is common enough in the Avestic literature; *nid* seems to be confined to the Vedic and has at times the word *Deva* prefixed to it. *Nid*, according to the orthodox interpreter, is derived from *nind* 'to revile', and therefore means a 'reviler, a scoffer'; hence the word *deva-nid* must have meant in those times 'a reviler' or 'scoffer of the *Devas*'. Both words will be found in the 61st hymn of the 6th Book, *Deva-nid* in the 3rd, while *nid* in the 11th verse. Some times both the words occur in one and the same (15, 4, IV) verse.

Druh at times occurs as *druhvan* (14, 25, I,) to which corresponds the Avestic *druvant*. The root *druh* is very common in the Sanskrit language, and means "to be hostile to". The meaning "to lie to", which has been given to it in the Avestic literature, seems to be a later phase or development. It is natural that a rivalry among the various divinities should have come to be conceived, and therefore there was as much room for the *Mithra-druhas* or rather *Mithra-drujas*, as there was for the *Mithra-yasnas*. This rivalry among the various *Asuras* must have ceased, when all of them were made to serve "the great Ahura", the *drujas* of the several divinities thenceforth becoming the *drujas* of the Great *Ahura*, though there were even times when the other *Ahura-yasnis* had their fling even at the Great *Ahura*, who through. His high palace (K. 31) is made to do homage to their long cherished and favourite divinity by the *Mithra-yasnas*, while He is made to offer prayers to Âp "Water" by the *Âp-yasnas* (K. 5, Abân-yas't) and to Vâyu 'wind' (K. 1, Râm-yas't) by the *Vâyu-yasnas*, for the attainment of His desires.

XV—THE WORDS "AHURA—MAZDA" AND "AHURA—WORSHIPPERS"

A question may here be asked—why the word *Ahura*-worshippers, which is not found in any of the *yaśtas* has been given preference to, while the word *mazda*-worshippers", which occurs in K. 30, has been rejected. The Avestic *Ahura-mazda* would be *Asura-mahad* in the Vedic language.

The formation 'Ahura-mazda' un-Aryan.

As the Adjective *mahat-mahad* instead of being compounded first, is compounded last, the formation of the compound word is at the first sight likely to be suspected of having originally been un-Aryan. But on a closer examination of the language, Vedic as well as classical, examples though only one or two will not be found wanting, in which the word *mahat*, instead of being compounded first, is compounded last The classical words *pitâ-maha* "great father, grand father" and *pra-pitâ-maha* "great-grand-father" will serve the purpose very well. In the Vedic language, the compound *mitra-mahas* which generally occurs in the *Sûrya* hymns (11, 50, I, and 7, 37, X) apparently belongs to the same class. The formation of the word *Ahura-mazda* thus need not be pronounced as un-Aryan. Even the expression *Asuro maho* (6, 1, II) for "Great Lord" occurs in the Vedic language. The equivalent in the language of the Deva-worshippers for *Ahura-mazda* would be *Deva-mahat* or *maho-devo*. The latter expression occurs in some of the hymns, as qualifying *Agni* (3, 58, IV) or some such divinity, but is not likely to be met with as denoting the Highest Unity and Personality in any of the hymns, that are now extant. In the only hymn of this nature viz the *Prajâ-pati* hymn (121, X), either the word *Deva* in the singular or *adhi-deva* (v. 8) is used to denote the Highest Unity and Personality. The word *Deva-yâjin*, which would in classical Sanskrit be the corresponding word for the Avestic *Deva-yasni*, may thus mean "worshippers of the *Devas*" and also of "one *Deva*."

Vedic 'Devâ' (in the singular) or *adhi Deva* = Avestic *Ahura-mazda*.

"Mazda-yasni" originally "Ahura-Mazda-yasni."

The word for the Great Lord as found or read in the Behistun inscriptions of Darius being exactly as it is written in the Avestic manuscripts, the original word for the "worshipper" must have been *Ahura-mazda-yasni*. The word *Ahura* was, perhaps, not popularly used in the singular to denote the Highest Unity or Personality among the Iranians, while the compound *Ahura-mazdâ-yasni* was unmanageably long for the mouths of the people. So *Ahura-mazda-yasni* was shortened into *mazda-yasni*, by which name the worshippers of *Ahura-mazda* became or made themselves known. Though the word *Asura-Ahura* occurs thus in the Avestic literature with *mazda* added to it before (K. 1) or after, it will be found preserved in the Vedic language not only in the sense of "Lord" in the singular (7 and 10, 35, 1) where a suspicion is rightly raised that it was originally used for *Asura-mahat* "the Great Lord", but in places it may be said to have been actually exalted above the word *Deva*, especially where the two *Mitrâ-Varuṇaû* are described as "the two *Asuras* and the two *Aryas* among the *Devas*" (2, 65, VII). Such Vedic expressions, which are the best exponents of the phases of the word *Asura*, and also the fact that the contrast would be preserved and made clearer by the word *Asura-Ahura* than by *mazda*, especially when the other word used is *Deva*, have led the writer of this paper to give preference to *Asura-Ahura*, and to employ the word "*Ahura*-worshipper" instead of "*Mazda*-worshipper".

XVI.—SOME INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT THE 'MITHRA'-WORSHIPPERS.

The home.

The high-lands and the low-lands about the mountain *Hara-Harethaya* (K. 12), also called *Hukaiairya* (K 23) formed the home of the *Mithra*-worshippers. All these lands are known collectively by the name (K 4.) of *Krishva* or *Kṛishvara*. The Vedic equivalent for *Kṛishvara-Kṛishva* seems to be *Kṛîshivala Kṛishṭi*. There were 'seven lands' claimed by the

Mithra-worshippers, *Areja* being the lowest and *Khanîratha* the highest (Ks 4 and 17). Was *Areja*, so celebrated for its lords temporal (K. 2), their earliest home, whence they managed to spread sea-ward and hill-ward? The names of the intermediate and conterminous lands will be found in K. 4, the more interesting among the latter from the Vedic point of view being *Moru* and *Gao*; the latter occurs as the name of a province (5, 53, X) in the Saṃhitâ, the former was possibly changed into *Meru* by the writers of the Purâṇas. All these lands were well-watered by rivers, and had hills with extensive pastures for cattle. The word *Airya* was, perhaps, a later name received by *Mithra*-worshippers (K. 27), after they had spread and occupied the lands adjoining the seven *Kṛishvaras*. Either the original home or the land subsequently occupied by the *Mithra*-worshippers (K. 27) had on the one side, eastern (K. 27) or southern, the *Hindus*, that is 'the land (watered by the river) Indus'. The 'Seven *Kṛishvaras*' were therefore either to the west or to the north of the river Indus, the 'Seven Sindhus' being either to their east or south.

Two divisions of 'Mithra'-worshippers.

The *Mithra*-worshippers may therefore be roughly divided by a Vedic follower of to-day into 'trans-Indus and 'cis-Indus', the latter or *Mitra*-worshippers forming his own brethren, not so much by race, as by religion. The trans-Indus *Mithra*-worshippers also must have been bound more by the tie of religion than that of race, the Avestic language, like the Vedic, being the language of the religion of the various clans, which, though radically distinct and at times even antagonistic, were bound together by the all-cohesive and indissoluble tie of one common spiritual brotherhood. The militant tribe or tribes having had to assimilate the accessions received from time to time from the various surrounding tribes, more or less antagonistic and radically distinct, the number of synonyms in the original language naturally increased.

XVII—A FEW MORE POINTS RAISED BY THE MITHRA-YAS'T.

The several ways often contradictory and conflicting, in which

Mithra is described can not but point to the whole *yas't* being rather, as already stated, a compilation than a composition by one man. *Mithra* is (Ks. 28 and 35) at times presented as the Highest Lord (*Ahura-berezant* = *Asura-brihant*). As such, he must have been at least by the *Mithra*-worshippers placed above the Great Lord (*Ahura-mazda* = *Asura-mahat*), and a student will not therefore be surprised when he finds that even the Great Lord has a temple built (K. 12) for *Mithra* by the *ames'â spentas* and the sun, and that he himself through his *garo-nmâna* (K. 31) worships *Mithra*. In K. 35, the worship of " stars, the moon and the like " is rather out of place after the worship of the High Lord, and as such points to that part being one of the latest insertions. *Mithra* being the High Lord had around him his " spies " (K. 10), whose duty was to mark out the *drujas* among all men, or possibly only among the members of the four political divisions of *nmâna*, *vîs*, *zantu* and *dahyu*, which in all likelihood were also the social. The world, perhaps, owes the institution of this fourfold division to the original *Mithra*-worshippers. *Mithra* with his " spies " will remind a Vedic student of *Varuna* surrounded by his spies and invincible to the *druhvans* " (13 and 14, 25, I).

Star-worship in the Yas't.

In the classical language, the word *Bhaga* is generally found as the first part of the adjective *Bhagavat*, where it is considered as an abstract noun, though the regular abstract noun or adjective *bhâgya*, meaning " luck, " is common enough like another abstract noun or adjective *daiva*, meaning " destiny " or " fate " and derived from *Deva*. The word *Bhagavat* etymologically means " one who has *Bhaga* with him " and as such occurs in the only *Bhaga* hymn, in which the seer is praying to *Bhaga* to make him " one of the *Bhagavats* " that is " those who have Bhaga with them ".

The God Bhaga.

It is not easy to determine from the exceedingly few materials in hand, whether the word *Bhaga* first denoted a particular divinity, and later on, being applied to any divinity, was generalised, or it was originally a general word like *Deva* and *Asura* meaning

"a divinity" and was, in course of time, individualised by being used in the singular. The *Prajâpati* hymn is a very good hymn for illustrating the individualisation of *Deva*, while verses in which occur the expressions like *Asuras sunîthah* (7 and 10, 35, I), *Asurasya mâyayâ* (1, 177, X), *Asurasya vîrâh* (2, 68, X) and *Asurah pitâ nah* (6, 83, V), may be cited as equally good examples in which the word *Asura* will be found to have been individualised. The word *Bhaga* will be found used in the 1st Book as an epithet of *Vâyu* "Wind" (v. 5) in the 134th hymn, the whole of which is remarkable for having in no verse the epithet *Deva* applied to *Vâyu*; it will also be found as an epithet of *savitṛi* (11, 62, III, and 1, 12, V), though along with the word Deva, also without the word *Deva* (3, 82, V). The individualisation of *Bhaga* will be best illustrated by the hymn itself. *Bhaga* also appears as one of the marriage divinities (36, 85 X), his companions being *Aryaman*, *Savitṛi* and *Purandhi*, among whom the last will remind an Avestic student of *Pârendî* (K. 10), who with *As'îs* is made or said to attend on *Mithra*. *Purandhi*, though thus a marriage divinity, is one about whom absolutely nothing is known or found, even the great Vedic exegete rendering *Purandhi* by *Pûshan*, and thereby showing that he even had no materials in his hand to determine the nature or attributes of that completely forgotten divinity of the hymeneal altar. Of the remaining three marriage divinities, the least fortunate is *Bhaga*, while the most fortunate is *Savitṛi*.

The word *Bhaga* occurs in the Avestic language as *Bagha* (33 Mithra-yas't and K. 1 Râm yas't); in the former *yas't* it is in the plural denoting divinities in general, while in the latter, it is in the singular, and seems to denote a particular divinity bearing that name. Not only in the inscriptions of the later Persian Kings (p. 341, vol. X, Journal of the R. A. S. of G. B. and I.), but even in the Behistun (p. 252, ibid) and the Persepolis inscriptions (p. 273, bid) of the great Darius Hystaspes, the word *Bhaga* occurs as *Bagha* denoting "a divinity" in general, *Ahura-mazda* being placed at the head of all the *Baghas*. The Vedic word *Bhaga*

Bhaga Vedic = *Bagha* Avestic = *Bagha* of Behistun inscriptions.

denoting a " a divinity " in general will thus carry an inquirer distinctly up into the 5th century B. C.

The Vedic word *manyu* will not enable an inquirer like *Bhaga* to establish connection with the rock inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes and his successors, though it will be highly useful like the root *yaj*, in connecting the Vedic literature with the Avestic, even with the Gâthic. *Manyu* as described in the hymns is not a passive, a quietistic divinity ; he is an active divinity, fond of drink, invoked by all, carrying in hand a weapon called *vajra*, described elsewhere as made of iron (12, 80, I), and specially prayed to when an expedition is directed against the *Dasyus*. The seer asks *Manyu* to help him in the destruction of the innumerable *Vritras* " enemies " that are before him. In one verse *Manyu's* companion is called *Varuṇa*, through in another *Tapas*. In one place *Manyu* is asked to be as useful as *Indra* in furthering the conquests of the tribe to which the seer had the honour to belong ; in another place, there is an attempt to identify him with *Indra*, *Deva*, *Hotṛi*, *Varuṇa* and *Jâta-Vedas* (fire). In the post-Vedic age these two hymns will be found employed in the *ajira* or the *S'yena*, and in the *Vajra* (2, 7and 19, 8, IX Â'sv S'rt Sût), a class of sacrifices recommended for the destruction of enemies.

The God Manyu.

Now to the derivation of the word *Manyu-Menyu*, which in the Sanskrit language means either "anger" or "sacrifice". *Manyu* meaning " anger " is apparently derived from *man* " to kill", a root which though not recognised in the Vedic Glossary, occurs with *abhi* in the sense of killing in the Aitareya Brâh (5, VII). The Glossary, however, has *minoti* for " (he) kills". If *minoti* be taken as a *-tanâdi* root, the base will be *minu* instead of *mi*, and the word derived from this *minu* must have the form *menyu*. The word *menyu -manyu*, meaning " anger " may thus be derived from *min* or *man* " to kill ", both roots being Vedic; but *manyu* is Vedic and *menyu* non-Vedic, while *mainyu* is Avestic and *manyu* non-Avestic. If this derivation were accepted, *manyu-menyu* would be " anger " personified or made concrete.

" Manyu-Menyu " derived.

Another derivation of Manyu.

But there is another way, which seems equally good, if not better, of deriving the Vedic *Manyu*. Not only is the verb *manyate* "he praises" Vedic, but words like *mati* and *manma* are now and then found, the former meaning 'praise' or 'praising (priest),' while the latter means only 'praise'. If *Manyu* were derived from this root, the original meaning would be 'praise-worthy'. The word *Manyu* was, perhaps, first applied to a 'divinity' in general, and then in course of time came to be individualised like *Deva* and *Asura*. If this derivation were accepted, the original Vedic form would be *Manyu*, though *Maynyu-Mainyu-Menyu* might have to be taken as the earlier pre-Vedic form (Wilson Philological Lectures, p 38).

The original meaning of *Spenta Mainyu*.

Whether the earlier word was *Mainyu* or *Manyu*, the Avestic and even the Gâthic literature recognise two of them, one of whom is called *Spenta Mainyu*; *Spenta* seems to be an adjective corresponding to *śveta* in Sanskrit and meaning originally 'white', hence 'holy, pure'. *Spenta-mainyu* would thus mean 'anger' personified, which, being directed against the 'unholy' or 'impure', was 'holy, pure'; or it may mean a 'holy' or 'pure divinity'. Since the word *speništa*, which is evidently the superlative of *spenta*, sometimes qualified *Mainyu* (v. 5, *Yasna* 30, and v. 2, *Yasna* 47), it follows as a matter of course that *Mainyu* once denoted like *Deva* and *Asura* a 'divinity' in general, that there were two divisions of *Mainyus*, viz the *spenta* and the non-*spenta*, and that when the 'holiest' or 'purest' *Mainyu* was intended, the superlative must originally have been used; though, as time rolled on, it became fashionable, perhaps in poetry, to use also the positive *spenta*, whose equivalent in English would be 'holy, pure'. Thus *Spenta-Mainyu* may be held to stand for *Speništa-Mainyu*.

The non-*Spenta Mainyu*.

The non-*Spenta* *Mainyu* is better known as *Ân(g)hra-Mainyu*. The word *Spenta* *Mainyu* is pretty common in the Gâthic literature, though the word *angrâ* -*angra* representing *ânghra* or *ânhra*, or rather

anghra, occurs only in one verse (v. 12, *Yasna* 44), and here also without *Mainyu* before or after it. In *Yasna* 30, especially in the 3rd verse in which the two *Mainyus* are distinctly mentioned, the words used are *vahya* and *aka-akem* for *spenta* and *angra* respectively, while in the 5th verse, the former is called *spenis'ta*. The Avestic *anghra* and the Gathic *angra* seem to be connected with some derivative, now lost, of *agha* ' sin ', which is equally a Vedic and an Avestic word, while *aka-akem* is *agha* itself, the *gh* being deprived of aspiration and hardened.

More about *anghra* and *spenta*.

As there was the *Spenta*-*Mainyu* so there was the *spenta-manthra* (K. 8); the *agha-manthra* (K. 5) could not but belong to *Angra*-*Mainyu*. The Avestic *mânthra* corresponds to the Vedic *mantra* and means a 'calling (word)'. There was thus '*calling* word' that was 'holy' or 'pure,' there was also another word' that was 'unholy' or 'impure'. The words *spenta* and *anghra-angra -ânghra-ânhra* with *Mainyu* and *mânthra* thus belonged to an age in which the *Mainyus* and the *mânthras* that were recognised as 'holy' or ' pure ' had to be distinguished from the *Mainyus* and the *mânthras* that were recognised as 'unholy' or 'impure'. There are clear traces of this age in the Avestic literature, though the Vedic seems to be completely devoid of them. Both the words *Manyu* and *mantra* are found in the Vedic literature, so also the words *s'veta* and *agha* ; but the latter have no notion of dualism, no shade of antagonism in them.

It should not, however, be supposed that no dualism is to be found in the ritualistic literature, on the contrary it is quite rampant in that literature. But the ritualistic dualism is the Deva-Asura dualism, with its units more or less antagonistic and combative. Though all these units in the earlier writings culminated in the two Unities of *Prajâpati*, father of Indra, and *Pralhâda* (of *Kayâdhû*) father of *Virochana* (9, 5, I, Taittir Brh.), and ran parallel to one another, in the later writings there is a decided attempt to make the two parallel streams meet in *Prajâpati* who is made the father and also the teacher of both the Devas and the Asuras; the former are described as having risen because they understood his teachings,

Brahminical dualism contrasted with Avestic.

while the latter are said to have fallen because they misunderstood (7, VIII, Chhândogya Upanishad) them.

Though the hymns are only two, they attest without the shadow of a doubt, that there was an age in which the *Manyu* worship and the *Manyu*-worshippers were known. What became of this worship and these worshippers during the ritualistic period cannot be ascertained from the Vedic literature. The two hymns do not enable us to determine how far the *Manyu* worship may be considered to have been dualistic. Though the *Manyu*-worship died out and the *Manyu*-worshippers became extinct in the land of Hind, leaving behind no vestige except the two hymns, the *Mainyu* worship attained marvellous development in Iran, where the 'holy' and 'unholy' *Mainyus* culminated in the two ever-antagonistic and ever-combative Unities. Though the materials in hand are very meagre, one would not be wrong in surmising from the superlative *spenis'ta*, that the word *Mainyu* in earlier times having come somehow to denote a 'spirit' in general, the superlative of *angra* must have been used to denote the *Mainyu* ever at war with the *spenis'ta*, though now it is unfortunately lost. *Mainyu* thus meant '*a* spirit and also '*the* spirit,' at times 'unholy' or 'impure'. The Avestic, or rather Gâthic *Mainyu* being in all probability originally identical with the Vedic *Manyu*, the worship with the worshippers must be very old, though the stamp of dualism can not be equally so.

Manyu worship, perhaps, dualistic; *Mainyu* worship decidedly dualistic.

The oldest dualism is the *Deva-Asura* dualism, which in the case of the one Division culminated in the conception of *Ahura-berezanta* or *Ahura-mazda*, and enabled the other Division to bring into existence the *Deva* (in the singular) or *Prajâpati*. The *Ahura-berezanta* sub-division may be identified with the *Mithra*-worshippers, *Mithra* the sun being identified with *Ahura-berezanta* the 'High Lord'. The minor immortals, who acknowledged the rule of the Highest Immortal, had in all likelihood received the name of *Ahuras*.

More than one dualism discernible.

The earlier *Ahura-Mazda* subdivision is that of the

Hystaspedæ; but whether the difference between this and the *Ahura-berezanta* sub-division was only in the name, or also in the object and form of worship, cannot unfortunately be ascertained, though in regard to the minor divinities having received in the former the name of *bagha-bhaga*, there can be no room for any difference of opinion. The later *Ahura-mazda* subdivision may be identified with the *âthra* worshippers, that is, fire-worshippers, *âthra* 'fire' being identified with the Great Lord. The older *Ahura-mazda* ruled over the *baghas* or *bhagas*, while the *ames'â-spentas* acknowledged the rule of the latter. The word *ames'â-spenta*, which does not seem to be Gâthic, is applied to abstract ideas made concrete or personified. The Berezanta-worship was thus the sun-worship; the older *mazda*-worship was *perhaps* the sun-worship, while the later *mazda*-worship was decidedly a fire-worship.

What position the *Mainyu*-worship occupied in these worships, or how it was connected with them, and whether it existed before or with them, are interesting points to which the attention of scholars is most respectfully solicited. Since *Ahura*-mazda is found at times addressed as *Spenta* or *Spenis'ta*-*Mainyu* (v. 6, Yasna XLV), and at times as *âthra-âthrâ* (v. 6, Yâsna XLVII), some of the Gâthâs must have been written after the establishment and spread, even after the incorporation, of the worship of *Mainyu* and *Âthra* with that of the older Mazda. In the Gâthic literature, all the *three* worships of the Mazda, the *Mainyu* and the *âthra* may thus be distinctly traced.

Connection between *Âthra* worship and *Mainyu* worship.

Though the word *Mainyu* after the incorporation of the two worships with the *Mazda*-worship must have meant at times the Great Lord and at times the Fire, it could before the incorporation have meant neither, but only 'a' or 'the divinity' as worshipped by a Division. The expression *Mainyava yazata* in all likelihood originally belonged to the *Mainyu*-worshippers, among whom the word *yazata* had deteriorated. May not the word *yazata* have belonged to a tribe

What the expression *Mainyava* means.

which originally was independent and in whose language the word *yazata* denoted the 'worshipful,' that is 'one God'; and may not the deterioration of the word have been caused by the tribe's subsequent loss of independence and incorporation with the *Mainyu* worshippers? The word *yazata* which originally meant 'worshipped' or 'worshipful,' and which as such is found also in the Vedas, seems to have come in course of time to denote a 'star' or a 'star-like *minor* divinity,' and the expression *mainyava-myazata* meant either a 'star' or a 'star-like minor divinity made by *Mainyu*' or 'on the side of *Mainyu*'. There being two *Mainyus*, the adjective *mainyava* is necessarily vague; it may mean 'holy' and also 'unholy'. When the adjective qualifies in the Avestic language a noun like *Deva* (K. 25), it must be connected with *Mainyu* the *angâra-ânghra-anhra, not* with *Mainyu* the *spenta;* while when it qualifies *yazata* or some such noun, it will have to be connected with *Mainyu* the *spenta*, not with *Mainyu* the *angra-ânghra-ânhra.* Such an expression unmistakeably points not only to the deterioration of the word *yazata,* but also to the degradation by the *Mainyu*-worshippers of *Mithra* from the highest position *once* occupied by him.

Complete degradation of *Mithra*.

Last come the *Kards* in which *Mithra* is described as a creature of and applicant for favour to *Ahura-mazda.* While the Kards containing the *tad-hitas* like *mainyava* will have to be traced to the *Mainyu* worshippers, these *Kards*, which unequivocally declare the complete degradation of *Mithra*, form the legacy bequeathed by the later *Mazda*-worshippers. In the opening *Kard* there is evidently the trace of an attempt made in the earlier struggles to reconcile the *Mithra-yasnis* with the *Mazda-yasnis* by directing the latter to honour *Mithra* equally with their *Mazda.* In the 3rd part there is a hint to the worshippers of the *âthra* of Ahura-mazda and to those of the *fravashis,* not to molest the *Mithra*-worshippers, as the *âthra* and the *fravashis* are well disposed towards them. The Avestic *fravashis* correspond to the Vedic *pitris.*

When the *Mazda-yasnis* made *Mithra* the *zaotar* of the *Ames'â*

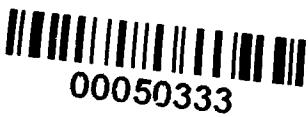
The Ames'âspandic Age contrasted.

spentas, they put him at the head of them. *Mithra* was thus placed above the *ames'â-spentas*, though second to *Ahura-mazda*. The *Mithra*-worship, though fallen into neglect when the *Mainyu*-worship was in full swing, thus revived when the *Ames'â-spentas* came to be worshipped and the office of *zaotar* to them was conferred on *Mithra*. The *Ames'â-spandic* Age, brought into existence by making the abstract ideas concrete, was decidedly a sacerdotal age, its atmosphere was in all probability as highly sacerdotal, as that of the *bagha*-worshipping age of the Hystaspedae, who every year kept alive the memory (79, Bk. 3, Carey's Herodotus) of the day of the priest-slaughter, was anti-sacerdotal. The name *Ames'â spenta* does not occur in the *Gâthâs* ; would it not be therefore necessary to hold the *Ames'â-spandic* Age as a post-*Gâthic* Age to be placed after the anti-sacerdotal age of the Hystaspedae ? *Mithra* in this *yas't* will thus be found to be described *firstly*, as the High Lord whom even the Great Lord worshipped ; *secondly*, as ' one of the stars ' or a ' starlike minor divinity *made by* ' or ' *on the side of* *Mainyu* the holy ' with whom the Great Lord came in course of time to be identified ; *lastly* as a creature of, or the *zaotar* of the *Ames'â-spentas* appointed by the Great Lord.

The paper has exceeded the limit originally intended ; so the writer has no other course left than to take leave of the subject for the present, earnestly hoping, that while Zoroastrians will pay greater attention than they have hitherto done to the Vedic language and the grammar of Pânini, the Brahmins too will not fail to be drawn towards a language and literature closely connected with their own sacred language and ritual. The vast field seems to be as yet unexplored, or but partially explored by Drs. Haug and Mills, Professors Darmesteter, Jackson and and others ; those Zoroastrians or Brahmins, who will patiently work in that field will surely not be displeased or dissatisfied with the yield. The West, though labouring under serious disadvantages, has done much in leading the way and opening the door ; the East

has now but to accompany, or rather follow the West, which to be sure will not only welcome and ungrudgingly take the inquiring East into the vault below, but be extremely happy to point out and even to describe the treasures, which are hidden there-in, and which in this wonderful century form the common heir-loom not only of the East and the West, but also of the North and the South ; in fact, of both the hemispheres, be they peopled by children of the Semitic Adam or the Âryan Manu.

In conclusion, I should be guilty of gross dereliction of one of my chief duties, if I allowed this occasion to pass without acknowledging openly and ungrudgingly the great help which I received from Mr. K. R. Cama, the large-minded Parsi septuagenarian, on whom a letter of introduction was kindly given by the late lamented Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, and his brother Zoroastrians. But for the valuable suggestions, which Mr. Cama, the learned and worthy President of the 'Society for making research into the Zoroastrian religion,' was kind enough to make, the paper would not have been what it now is. There is something quite fascinating in the Zoroastrian religion. Would it be impertinent on the part of an out-sider, a non-Zoroastrian, to suggest that the ritual which has been made somewhat cumbrous and tedious by the Atharvas in the dark ages of Zoroastrianism, though it falls far below in cumbrousness and tediousness the ritual elaborated by the Brahmins in the dark ages of Brahminism, be restored to its original simplicity and virginal purity, and that a Mission be started and zealously supported for the conversion of non-Zoroastrians to Zoroastrianism? The Bheels, the Khonds, the Santhals and other aboriginal tribes of India offer a field one finer than which it will be hard to find. It is for the modern Zoroastrians to show by action that they are the worthy descendants of those worthy ancestors, who, not only nobly conceived for the first time in the history of mankind the idea of universal brotherhood, but vigorously carried it into execution, diffusing its blessings far and wide in the then known world.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